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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 NDJAMENA 000602

SIPDIS
SENSITIVE

STATE FOR AF/C
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DOD FOR DASD HUDDLESTON
NSC FOR GAVIN
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PARIS FOR POL - BAIN AND KANEDA
ADDIS ABABA ALSO FOR AU

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LY, CD

SUBJECT: "INTRA-CHADIAN DIPLOMACY" AND "CHADIAN NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION" CONTINUE TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS

REF: A. NDJAMENA 591

[1](#)B. NDJAMENA 507

[1](#)C. NDJAMENA 457

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

[1](#)1. (SBU) National Mediator Abderamane Moussa told the Ambassador December 14 that the GOC's "national reconciliation" efforts continued to claim success, with the return of former armed rebels and former regime opponents to Chad. Moussa cited three recent events: the return to Chad this week by former regime opponent Dr. Mahamout Nahor Ngawara, head of the dissident Democratic Popular Front party, after 12 years in self-imposed exile in France; the defection and return to Chad from Sudan of some 100-odd fighters and other dissidents from Adouma Hassaballah's UFCF armed rebel group; and the elevation of his own position by law to a constitutional level, following a National Assembly vote November 26 to institutionalize the office of "Mediator of the Republic," with powers broadened to include "domestic" as well as "foreign" responsibilities in conflict resolution and mitigation.

[1](#)2. (SBU) The creation of the office of "Mediator of the Republic" with expanded powers and responsibilities recognizes the incumbent's successful tenure and demonstrates the GOC's commitment to resolving internal as well as external conflicts among Chadians. The return of Nahor's DPF and part of Hassaballah's UFCF group from the rebellion is in itself good news. The amnesty of Soubiane and others shows the GOC's willingness and ability to reconcile with all but the most intransigent and hardline of Chad's armed rebels and regime opponents.

[1](#)3. (SBU) Despite evident success, including responsiveness to USG policy demarches to the GOC since February 2008 (and before), "intra-Chadian diplomacy" has its critics, who allege various deficiencies. We disagree and these most recent examples of the effectiveness of the GOC's strategy bear us out. We continue to believe that intra-Chadian diplomacy has its own rules and protocols, rooted in Chad's distinct, indigenous political culture, whose dynamics are

different from classic Western-style diplomacy. The notion that intra-Chadian diplomacy as practiced by the National Mediator and others in the Deby regime is not a valid method for reaching out to armed rebels and regime opponents ignores the dynamics of Chadian political culture and the realities of the GOC's success in reducing the virulence of the Chad rebellion over the past 18 months. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT

DR. NAHOR RETURNS

14. (SBU) National Mediator Abderamane Moussa told the Ambassador December 14 about the return the previous day of former regime opponent Dr. Mahamout Nahor Ngawara, head of the dissident (and sometimes armed) Democratic Popular Front party to Chad. Nahor, reconciled with the GOC after 12 years in self-imposed exile in France, crossed into Chad from Cameroon December 13 along with a dozen or so of his senior staff. He was welcomed by Saleh Maki, the number two of the National Mediator's office. Dr. Nahor, a prominent physician and former political ally of President Deby, met with Deby in Paris in July.

SOUBIANE ET AL. AMNESTIED

15. (SBU) The National Mediator also called the Ambassador's attention to the recent decree granting amnesty to former armed rebel chief Ahmat Soubiane and other former rebels and regime opponents, citing it as an example of the effective

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functioning of the GOC's efforts toward complete "National Reconciliation," including legal guarantees for reconciled groups and individuals.

UFCD FIGHTERS DEFECT

16. (SBU) The National Mediator described as well how on December 13, in Abeche, some 104 fighters and other dissidents from Adouma Hassaballah's UFCD armed rebel group defected and returned to Chad to be integrated into the Chadian Armed Forces. The ex-UFCD fighter were led back to Chad by former Hassaballah lieutenant Abderahim Ibrahim Bachar and welcomed by Ouaddai Region Governor Kedellah Younous Hamid. The defection was negotiated by the local "Reconciliation and Awareness Commission," headed by the regional leader of President Deby's MPS majority party coalition and by the Sultan of Dar Ouaddai.

"MEDIATOR OF THE REPUBLIC" CREATED

17. (SBU) Finally, the National Mediator (rather proudly) recounted how on 26 November the National Assembly had passed into law the elevation of the office of the National Mediator to a constitutional level by creating the office of "Mediator of the Republic," with powers broadened to include a wide range of "domestic" as well as "foreign" responsibilities. The constitutionally-reinforced office will continue to be occupied by Abderahmane himself. The new Mediator of the Republic is charged "to respond to the need for dialogue and understanding" by "receiving complaints regarding the functioning of state administrations, decentralized territorial collectivities public establishments and any other organ of public service." The National Mediator can "assist citizens regarding their civic rights and civic responsibilities; help to resolve disputes between state agencies and the citizens they serve; advise the Prime Minister regarding legislative, regulatory, and administrative measures; and participate in efforts to

improve public services and all efforts toward reconciliation between the state and professional and social forces."

INTRA-CHADIAN DIPLOMACY
AND ITS CRITICS

¶8. (SBU) "No good deed goes unpunished," as the saying has it. Despite evident success and despite responsiveness to USG policy demarches to the GOC since February 2008 (and before), "intra-Chadian diplomacy" has its critics, who allege that deficiencies undercut its effectiveness and legitimacy as a tool of statecraft. Some object to the cost. If the money runs out, gains made by intra-Chadian diplomacy may be put at risk, the reasoning goes. And even if the money does not run out, spending on "buying rebels back" forms part of Chad's "security budget" and could be better saved or spent on other things. Others object on broader grounds, charging that "intra-Chadian diplomacy" is inefficient, because in practice it can be abused, both by authentic rebels and by non-rebels. Authentic rebels can exploit the revolving-door nature of the process by returning to Chad for one pay-offs, then going back to Sudan and returning again for more, and so on. Non-rebels can become "rebels for day" to cash in on the financial benefits rebels are offered. Others focus on Chad's precarious public-finances and worry that "buying back" rebels will have a negative impact on the GOC's relations with the IFIs.

COMMENT

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¶9. (SBU) The creation of the office of "Mediator of the Republic" with expanded powers and responsibilities recognizes the incumbent's successful tenure and demonstrates the GOC's commitment to resolving internal as well as external conflicts among Chadians. The return of Nahor's DPF and part of Hassaballah's UFCD group from the rebellion is in itself good news. The amnesty of Soubiane and others shows the GOC's willingness and ability to reconcile with all but the most intransigent and hardline of Chad's armed rebels and regime opponents.

¶10. (SBU) Despite evident success, including responsiveness to USG policy demarches to the GOC since February 2008 (and before), "intra-Chadian diplomacy" has its critics, who allege various deficiencies. We disagree and these most recent examples of the effectiveness of the GOC strategy bear us out. We continue to believe that intra-Chadian diplomacy has its own rules and protocols, rooted in Chad's distinct, indigenous political culture, whose dynamics are different from classic Western-style diplomacy. The notion that intra-Chadian diplomacy as practiced by the National Mediator and others in the Deby regime is not a valid method for reaching out to armed rebels and regime opponents ignores the dynamics of Chadian political culture and the realities of the GOC's success in reducing the virulence of the Chad rebellion over the past 18 months. END COMMENT.

¶11. (U) Minimize considered.

NIGRO